● 113
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Tupi-Guarani SL6
Bacairi SP7 ●
Arawakan Indians SR6
Cariban Indians SR7
Carib SR9
Macusi SR11
Rucuyen SR12
Cumana SS9

/For information on the terminologies and nomenclatures in the native vernacular applied by the Carib-speaking and some other northern South American tribes to various species of mammalian fauna in their habitats, see 3: Simpson, SS16 Pemon, Category 116, particularly pp. 4A-10B./

/vii cont./

000 The German consul in this emporium of Amazonas, Herr Sesselberg, as well as the German ambassador in Rio de Janeiro, Herr Le Maistre, gave us the most gracious reception.

126 /viii/ The ethnological collection, which, despite all the difficulties of transport, we salvaged successfully and almost without loss, was given to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde.

126 128 Herr Professor Baron Karl von Fritsch kindly undertook the identification of the rock samples gathered on the trip, a considerable part of which, however, was unfortunately lost.

In working up the linguistic material I was enthusiastically assisted by my friend Herr Dr. Georg Wenker in Marburg.

The illustrations, with the exception of the ten separate pictures which Mr. Johannes Gehrts of Düsseldorf made, as well as a few photographs collected on the trip, were done by my cousin, Wilhelm von den Steinen, from his numerous travel sketches. In the case of the ethnographic plates, he was helped by a few photographs, for which I am indebted to the Assistant Director of the Berlin Museum, Herr Dr. von Luschan.

Besides an ethnographic and a simple survey map, a special map by Herr Dr. Clauss, which was made available by the publishing firm of Justus Perthes, was added to the book. The [113] results of our meteorological and geographical studies were published by Dr. Clauss in detailed form in the May and June issue of Petermanns Mittheilungen for the year 1886. He also erected a small meteorological station in Cuyabá, in order to obtain a series of observations over a longer period; Herr 127 August Karstens, a German master tailor in residence there, has earned the most commendable merit for filling in as best he could the considerable gaps in our meteorological knowledge of central South America and has already sent in a continuous series of observations.

I am particularly indebted to Herr Capistrano de Abreu of Rio, the translator of "Wappaeus," who was indefatigably active in obtaining for me excerpts from older works in the Bibliotheca Nacional.

/vi cont./

122 [113] Simultaneously with the appearance of this book, Professor Vogel is publishing his results in the organ of the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin/Geographical Society of Berlin/, which deserves credit in connection with our journey for supporting him from the funds of the Karl Ritter Foundation. I cordially thank the president, Privy Councilor Baron von Richthofen, for his kind permission to add to my account the map drawn and edited by Dr. Richard Kiepert's trusted hand. I myself experienced substantial assistance through the Humboldt Foundation of the Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin /Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences of Berlin/, and on this occasion, too, I beg the Board of Trustees to accept my most sincere gratitude.

In the course of the journey we were given numerous demonstrations of hospitality by Brazilians as well as by countrymen in Brazil and the La Plata states, both by simple private persons and by persons in high office, who have put us most deeply under obligation to them. Though we can show our appreciation to the sons of the country to a certain extent by helping to open up the interior of a little explored province, we remain wholly indebted to our countrymen; were I merely to mention the localities where they live, I would have to recapitulate the entire route, except for the Indian paths. Thus, to all to whom these lines find their way, whether they import and export in trade or lead in a political position, or whether, as intrepid colonists, they live far from the coast, I extend the most cordial greetings and wish them the safeguard of peace and orderly conditions for their work.

128 [802] The maize has already bloomed six times since we left the source region of the Schingú -- "two two two, ahage ahage ahage," counts the Bakaïrí, and finds no words in his language [113] to express a larger number. The report has been delayed longer than I liked; I was held back primarily by preliminary linguistic studies (Die Bakaïrí-Sprache /The Bacairi Language/, K. F. Köhler, Leipzig, 1892), but I learned many things from them and gained a broader and firmer foundation than was the

/198 cont./

*171 or occasionally took them off, just as a number of Trumaí did
291 not even wear the string, but the penis had always been pushed
834 back so far and the skin was so wrinkled that nothing was visible of the glans. I even believe, perhaps because, without corroborating material, I myself am gazing through the spectacles of civilization, that they would be ashamed to expose the glans to the eyes of another, especially a stranger. Except that I would regard this feeling of modesty as the result of the firmly rooted custom and not as its cause. I find it very strange, however, that a feeling given by temperament should be awakened for only a small anatomical part of an organ which in its function also claims other parts, and I should like to hear of a case having been observed, say, in which a person taken by surprise in a naked state covers himself, not with his hand, but with only two fingers. It should not be forgotten that erections are neither prevented nor concealed by the tying-off. Moreover, there are also
[304] circumcised persons who go naked or did.*

● [113]

*Cf. the example of the cacique of Gotera; R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, new series, Leipzig, 1889, p. 202.

ooo And here we have arrived at the point that must be considered above all. We must take into consideration the opposite treatment of the glans, which shortens or cuts open the praeputium. The majority of mankind has given preference to circumcision. Along with Ploss and Andree, ** I am of the opinion that the

** Op. cit., p. 212.

original meaning of circumcision was that of an "operative preparatory act for the sexual function of the man"; "one wants to make the young man at once mature and normal sexually, /199/ with it he is taken into the ranks of marriageable men." Now, if our primitives have decided on the opposite method, they could not have been impelled by an opposite motive, which would be irrational. One may well ask, however, whether their

/209 cont./

*171 24 245 Category B could probably be considerably enlarged. It depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakaïrí village there was a sort of avenue of pikí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakaïrí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "waurarú" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less frequently found near the village. Then, however, plants which they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the village. Thus they transplanted near the village the spear grass growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves, the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubá arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

*171 249 [302] [824] [248]

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role. Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Auetó and was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakaïrí village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

[276]

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114 276 [113]

* This circumstance may have occasioned H. v. Ihering to say: "v. d. Steinen missed tobacco among the Bakaïrí of the Upper Schingú just as completely as bananas or metals" [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. I describe, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 173 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 55/, for Village III of the Batovy-Bakaïrí, the real part played by smoking, as the discoverers of the

/215 cont./

*171 462 satisfied with scant remains and would suffer hunger if they did not provide for themselves in time and stealthily set aside part of the contents of the cooking pots still during the cooking or eat already during their work." This among the modern Karaiben Makuschi /Macusi/ in Guiana. Appun, Unter den Tropen /Below the Tropics/, II, p. 399, Jena, 1871, and among many other tribes.

● [113]

was therefore dependent on the booty of plant foods that she herself could obtain. On the Schingú the men plaited the roasting rack, roasted fish and meat, the women baked the beijús, boiled the beverages, the fruits, and grilled palm nuts -- what other meaning could this division into animal cookery by the men and vegetable cookery by the women have than that each of the two sexes had remained in its ancient sphere?

[252]

[252] The men did the roasting, but never the boiling. Starting from this fact, we come by way of the same line of thought to a similar conclusion corroborated by quite analogous observations. Scarcely anything else on the Schingú seemed stranger to me at first than the fact that the art of making pots was limited to the Nu-Aruak tribes. The Bakaïrí did not own a single pot that did not come from the Kustenaú or Mehinakú. The docile Bakaïrí expressly told me that they had learned pottery from the Paressí, their Nu-Aruak neighbors. Thus old Caetano, in other words, the man, contrary to all original custom, made pots on the modern Paranatinga. The Nahuquá had pots from the Mehinakú and also made some themselves, as was demonstrated before our eyes by a woman kneading the moist clay; but this woman wore the tattooing of the Mehinakú women and had married into the Nahuquá; the art actually came from the Mehinakú. The Tupí tribes, too, had pots from the Nu-Aruak, especially from the Waurá. Thus, the one tribal group ** was the sole bearer of

*171 323

[439]

[177]

** According to Im Thurn, the Karaiben at

/245 cont./

associated with the older representation. In the field of painting, we come across such productions in the form of geometric ornamentation. Dots and dashes may be the equivalents of the old markings. But even such "simple" figures as triangles and squares, which one would think could be freely constructed by the most primitive artists, originated only through the stylization of representations, and, since they automatically recommended themselves to the technique as types, they easily won out over more complicated structures in the struggle for existence.

Now just a word about the motifs of our Indian art. They have been borrowed exclusively from the animal kingdom. Andree in his well-known /246/ article, "Das Zeichnen bei Naturvölkern /Drawing Among Primitive Peoples/,"* points out

*Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, n.s., Leipzig, 1889, p. 59.

that the plant only rarely plays a role and adds: "In order to arrive at an understanding of this phenomenon we need only remember that among our children, too, when they make their first independent attempts at drawing on the blackboard, animals and human beings in crude forms are represented first; the living, mobile animal is more apt to capture their attention, is also easier to grasp in its entire figure than the plant consisting of numerous leaves and blossoms."

This pertinent remark is in perfect accord with the relationship between gesture and drawing which I maintain. By means of gestures I imitate an animal, not a tree, and not only because the latter does not move actively. It is easy for me to express parts of the animal body by means of gestures, because in doing so, proceeding from my own body, if, for example, I wanted to depict a pair of donkey ears or some antlers, I would immediately indicate the position and the type of the organ, whereas I should be unable to express parts of a plant by means of gestures, unless I use words to help out. Among our Indians, however, drawing is only a special case; the animal motif dominates their entire

/260 cont./

531 825 the world is pictured in these minds!" No. 10, semímo ikuto, pictures of bats!. Rhombuses strung together. Head, extremities, tail, where are they? We shall come across bats again, however, in other drawings and especially on the pots, where they are re-
• [113] duced to the same rhombus form. In Brehm's Tierleben I, 1890, page 363, there is an illustration of Vesperugo noctula, the Abendsegler /"evening swift"/, which in the specimen on the left, wrapped in a wing membrane and hanging, shows us a somewhat similar outline; if it were stylized, it could also be developed into a rhombus. -- /261/ Let us now confirm the fact that on these two plates we have rhombuses in three patterns: that of the pakú, either an outline or spotted-surface design; that of the nuki, with diagonal triangles, and the one of the bat, which is simply filled in. The negative drawing of the bats, No. 10, would be exactly like No. 11, the Boa constrictor or jiboya snake. One sees, at any rate, that one can arrive at the geometric figure of the rhombus in very different ways.

* [171] 531 825 Mereschu and uluri. /Fig. 43 appears here./ Strangely enough, the frieze of the Bakaïrí house lacked a design which is the most common one, not only among the Bakaïrí, but also among all the tribes of the upper Schingú. On our first journey we noticed it often enough, but did not appreciate and understand it. In my report Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/ it is found on page 163 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 42/ as a drinking-bowl design of the Bakaïrí and on page 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/ as a pencil drawing of the Suyá in the handsomest delineation: rhombuses whose corners are filled in with small triangles. Only after the discovery was made in the second Bakaïrí village was
[136] the explanation given. The original of the decoration is a small, flat lagoon fish, a Serrasalmo or Myletes, related to the piranhas. The one drawn by Wilhelm measured 19 centimeters in length, 9.5 centimeters in width, and was silver-gray with brown spots. No
[123] artist has ever had more success with a picture than did Wilhelm with this drawing. People came crowding up and all were positively happy to view it. And this was repeated among all the tribes. Even the Paressí in Cuyabá were delighted with it and

/295 cont./

Auetö as the inventors of the woven mask and the mereschu ornamentation. III. Other festival apparatus. Kamayurá dances. Dance clubs. Ornamental whorl, etc. Musical instruments. Whizzer sticks. Feather ornaments. Diadems. Games of the young people.

"The artifacts of the Stone Age are simple and fashioned only for the satisfaction of the most essential needs. With the art of shaping metals, the feeling for ornamentation and adornment is awakened." Thus writes O. Schrader in his excellent book, Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte /Language Comparison and Prehistory/ (p. 215), and something like that could have been written only by a distinguished philologist to whom it does not occur that such judgments, even when they refer to Indo-European prehistoric peoples, must be tested in the modern museum of ethnology. That passage has about the same value as one to the effect that man began to establish traditions when he learned to write. Though it is true that the satisfaction of the most essential needs is older than the development of the feeling for ornamentation and adornment, nevertheless even primitive peoples, without metal developed this to the full extent of their means; in fact, one may very well argue that, quite the contrary, it might often have awakened -- and could awaken because it was already highly developed -- the interest in metals in the first place. In the chapter on ornamental drawing and plastic art, I believe I have proved in detail what I stated about our Indians in a preliminary report presented to the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin /Geographical Society of Berlin/ (Verhandlungen, 1888, p. 386): "They have a positive mania for painting all implements, a passion for crafts," and I must now complete the evidence for the festival days when man quite consciously feels elevated above the satisfaction of the most essential needs and puts all his skill into the service of the art of adorning himself.

/335 cont./

*171 846 Among our Indians the father takes care of the child, the woman returns to work sooner. That the father lies in the hammock a great deal is understandable in view of the lack of nourishment and from the mere fact that he stays at home. /336/ When does the couvade start and when does it end? The [844] father cuts the umbilical cord of the newborn child, fasts strictly, cares for the child, and is a free man once more when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off. Among the Bakaïrí he cuts the umbilical cord of boys with kambayuva reed, of girls with takoara bamboo.

Let us compare with this the note by Martius about the Passés /Pase/, where the customs may be recognized particularly clearly as medical when the young woman at the onset of the menses fasts for a month, the woman in confinement remains in the dark for a month and, "like the husband, is restricted to a diet of mandioca, beijú, and flour soup. The husband colors himself black and remains in the hammock during the entire period of fasting or until the dried umbilical cord of the baby drops off (six to eight days). He himself usually cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth or sharp stones, if he has no knife." Especially important, however, is a manuscript by the Jesuit Fernão Cardim of 1584 and preserved for us in the monastery library of Evora, the capital of the Portuguese province of Alemtejo,*

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* Do principio e origem dos Indios do Brazil /The Beginning and Origin of the Indians of Brazil/, Rio de Janeiro, 1881.

which contains many reliable observations. "The women give birth on the ground, they do not pick up the child, but rather the father picks it up or some person whom they take as sponsor and with whom they maintain friendship, like the godfather among the Christians; the father cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth or with two stones, one above the other, and immediately thereafter he lies down to fast until the navel drops off, which usually takes up to eight days, and until it drops off they

2: Steinen--411 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Chapter XIII.

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Science and Legend of the Bakaïrí

I. The Basic View.

Man need not die. Knowledge of the existence after death. Explanation of nature by means of stories. Animals = persons. Animals actually furnish culture, hence same explanation carried over for unknown origins. Origin of explanatory story. Celestial bodies, the oldest things, and animals. Significance of the Milky Way. Transformation. Men from arrows, women from maize pestles. Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The twins and their mother are not profound personifications.

[76] When in the course of making my linguistic recordings I gave Antonio* the sentence, "everyone must die," he was silent for

[113]

* Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bacairi Grammar/, p. 185.

some time, to my astonishment. There ensued the same long pause which I always had to cope with when I presented him with one of those abstractions so familiar to us, but so foreign to him. [811] I learned then for the first time that the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ does not know "must," he has not yet reached the point of deducing a general necessity from a series of always identical, recurring phenomena; quite specifically, however, he does not understand that man must die. He is still far from the thought which we memorize in the lowest classes of the Gymnasium,** "nemo mortem

** As a boy I refused to believe it at heart and for many years, until I became more intimately acquainted with the nature of death, clung stubbornly to the hope that I might perhaps be an exception and not die, as is otherwise customary in the history of the world.

2: Steinen--422 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi SP7

/356 cont./

793 moment sweet curiosity asked further: "Where did those people
811 get their tobacco?" Then there was no better answer, assuming the basic view, than: "From the kinkajou, of course," and people were very satisfied.

In exactly the same manner, as we shall see, the origin of the ordinary smoking tobacco is traced back to a fish which does not occur in the Paranatinga, but lives in the "tobacco river," and the origin of mandioca to a fish likewise not found in the Paranatinga, but which inhabited the "beijú river." Occasionally I did not conceal my skepticism from Antonio -- not often, for, like every believer, he was offended by doubts, the true core of which he himself could not fail to recognize. Then he would either maintain a hurt silence, or he would explain the present condition as the result of magic, or -- and, to be sure, in most cases -- he would simply say: "It is no longer like that now, but it used to be."

"Once upon a time" (the constantly recurring paá of the Tupí legends) is also the signature of the Indian "fairy tales." By far the greatest number of the legends try to explain the origin of something; thus they always deal with events in ancient times, and since they are always to be explained only by something special that happened, the view that there was once a time when the extraordinary was the rule was bound to be established from all this. With the most beautiful logic in the world they arrived at situations where it was always found that the human behavior of animals was the only way out, but a very excellent one. It is very easy to understand the origin of the stories, frequently spiced with a good deal of humor, if only one takes as the point of departure the point which is proved; it is obvious that the fact to be explained could not have led to the story, but rather only the story to the fact.

000 /357/ In a fairy tale* that is very widespread on the Amazon

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* Barbosa Rodriguez, "Poranduba Amazonense /Amazon History/," Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, Vol. XIV, 2, page III, Rio de Janeiro, 1890.

2: Steinen--437 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/367 cont./

101 for the Bakaïrí could have come in a time that disappeared long
174 ago, it is possible that the tribe whose women once influenced the Bakaïrí tradition so profoundly has not existed in independent form for a long time -- all these details are not to be determined. But it does not matter much. Of course, it could be significant that among the Paressí the Arinos is called sun-river, Kame-
101 river, or east-river. For the tribes which, according to the
174 Bakaïrí, were made by the hero Kame are "toda gente de Arinos,"
829 "all the people of the Arinos!" They enumerated the Paressí, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, Suyá (formerly on the Arinos), Maué (on the Tapajoz). Keri, on the other hand, made "Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Nahuquá, Bororó, Kayapó /Cayapo/, Kayabí /Cayabi/," that is to say, the tribes living east and south of the Arinos. The division has nothing whatever to do with a distinction according to languages, for there are Nu-Aruak and Gês on both sides; it embraces two large, spatially affiliated groups which are by no means lying strictly west-east; the one contains western, northwestern, and northern tribes, from the vantage point of the Bakaïrí, the other eastern, southeastern, and southern tribes. The chief representatives of the two groups, however, the Bakaïrí and Paressí, actually reside in such a way that the former live east of the
[113] latter. We thus have the following situation: 1. Kame = Nu-Aruak "sun," but among the Bakaïrí hero of the second rank and lord of the moon, is the tribal ancestor of the western and northern tribes, and 2. Keri = Nu-Aruak "moon," but among the Bakaïrí the most favored hero and lord of the sun, is the tribal ancestor of the eastern and southern tribes.

000 Here I should like to draw on an interesting example found in Alexander von Humboldt. ** In the vicinity of Maípure, the

[113] ** Reise in die Aequinoktial-Gegenden /Journey into the Equinoctial Regions/, III, p. 173.

place named after a Nu-Aruak tribe, stand two rocks in the cataracts of the Orinoco, one of which, "the so-called Keri or

/372 cont./

793 how powerfully, from time immemorial, civilization was seized by the attraction toward the west; all the tribes who bury their dead -- since they cannot place a compass in the grave -- with the face toward the rising sun, are supposed to have come from the east. "Where does Keri live?" I asked Antonio. "In heaven." "But in which direction?" "In the east; that is where he keeps the sun. The pot that covers it at night stands in his house." Old Caetano called Keri the "Imperador" /emperor/, and he, too, had him living in the east, namely, in Rio de Janeiro. I do not see the slightest reason for mixing up the first act in heaven of the Keri myth with a migration myth. The sun was there before Keri; he simply regulated its course. If he goes with the sun, he must live in the east or the west; the Bakaïrí decided on the east and could now have easily come to the conclusion, which they did not draw, that their ancestors came from there. The ancestors, however, could not very well have lived in the east wherever this conclusion is drawn. It need not cause surprise, however, that Keri goes with the sun, since he is merely the person who was added to the sun in the story by way of explanation, and since the person who is supposed to represent the founder of the tribe and who is linked with the most important achievements has been added to the story, the culture hero must also be the "god of light."

II. The Texts.

000 The parents of Keri and Kame. Origin and death of the mother. The latter avenged. Sun, sleep, and buriti hammock. Heaven and earth interchanged. Fire. Rivers. To the salto of the Paranatinga. House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Departure of Keri and Kame. Tobacco and cotton. Mandioca; deer antlers. The ugly ostrich. Keri and the campo fox out hunting. The jaguar and the ant bear.

128 ● 113 539 I have published the original texts of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ legends, with interlinear translation, in the Bakaïrí-Grammatik.

/380 cont./

539 825 a cigar out of this tobacco and blows on people, they die; /381/ but if other people then come and blow on the dead one, he will come to life again and go his way. Cotton, too, and the hammock woven from it come from the sawari. Where the sawari obtained the tobacco and the cotton hammock is not known. It is very rare and lives gregariously downstream on the Paranatinga. It is an animal of the campo cerrado, is somewhat smaller and has a slightly more pointed snout than the irara (Galictis, marten-like, cf. Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ I, page 614) related to it; it climbs and sleeps during the day in tree holes; there are some that are more black, and some that are more white. The description exactly fits the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus, which in its entire build is extraordinarily like the irara, although it is not related to it (cf. the illustration in Brehm, Säugetiere II, page 287, with that of the irara at the place cited). Among the Makuschí /Macusi/, who are closely related to the Bakaïrí linguistically, the kinkajou is called yawari.* According to

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* Schomburgk, Rich. Versuch einer Fauna und Flora von Britisch-Güiana /Attempt at a Flora and Fauna of British Guiana/, Leipzig, 1848, Vol. II, p. 435: "Von Tschudi gives it geographical distribution up to 10° south latitude. The colonists call it yamanack, the Arawaaks wawula, the Macusis yawali, the Warraus uvari."

Brehm, "we know that the kinkajou is widely distributed. It occurs throughout northern Brazil, in Peru, and northward as far as Mexico, in fact, even in southern Louisiana and Florida."

Sawari also had the tobacco that one smokes. The Bakaïrí, however, had obtained this from the karazóto = "master of the fish," a large fish found in the Kulizehu, but not in the Paranatinga. Antonio had also seen it in the Kulizehu, "but not very well."

[262] I myself ate it in Maigéri, where Tumayaua gave me a piece of karazóto; it was very oily. According to the description, it is an electric eel, but I cannot give the meaning as wholly certain.

/387 cont./

131 Bakaïrí are all inhabitants of the eastern source-region of the
133 Tapajoz and are to be found only in the region of the plateau above the rapids and waterfalls that put great obstacles in the way of the journey downstream to the Amazonas /Amazon/.

175 The West Bakaïrí have been known since the first raiding
101 expeditions of the "Paulistas," the discoverers of the Mato Grosso who boldly pushed forward from the province of S. Paulo on their slave hunts at the beginning of the previous century. Even Antonio Pires de Campos, from whom we have a report* from the year 1723,

[113]

* Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico XXV, p. 448. Rio de Janeiro, 1862.

"after the experience of so many years," had heard of them; after he has briefly characterized (page 448) the tribes -- today long since disappeared -- of the upper Cuyabá and the Rio Manso emptying into it, he continues: "All these have the same way of life, the same type of weapons, and everything else the same, they are nomadic tribes and, with their raiding expeditions, succeed in causing harm to the heathen people named Bacayris, who live on the tributaries of the Maranhão (sic!); and from there on various stations of heathens /388/ with countless villages follow one another, as I have been informed, and all very warlike people and masters of their weapons."

The Bakaïrí are also mentioned in a report from the year 1749 about a trip from Pará into the source region of the Madeira, and furthermore it may also have happened in many an old note about the origin of the Mato Grosso gold mines. It is always only a casual mention of the tribal name, which does not offer us further information. At most we may conclude from these citations that in the previous century the Bakaïrí must have been more numerous and perhaps had advanced somewhat more to the west and southwest than is the case today. This will come out more clearly, however, from their own tradition.

175 Closer contact with the Brazilians did not take place until
797 the beginning of the 'twenties in our century. At that time

/388 cont./

175 "Padre" Lopes reached as far as the region of the Paranatinga
177 and converted the West Bakaïrí to Christianity. Lopes was an adventurous gold-seeker, about whom the painter of the Langsdorff Expedition* of 1828 remarks that, accompanied by

[113]

* Hercules Florence; cf. Revista Trimensal, Vol. 38, II, p. 280.

Apiaká /Apiaca/ Indians, he had gone up the Rio dos Peixes, a tributary of the Arinos, and "fought with many savages." At any rate, since his visit, which cost the lives of Reginaldo's grandfather and others, the West Bakaïrí have been regarded as
175 Christians. How superfluous the brutalities of the noble Lopes were comes out best from the following words of the geographer
[113] Ayras de Cazal in his Corographia Brasilica /Chorography of Brazil/ of the year 1817, therefore before Lopes: "The Baccahirys who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes carry on ceaseless warfare against all types of quadrupeds and birds. To this day these people have not engaged in any hostilities against the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly: one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."

[101] The real reason why the Bakaïrí could have been regarded as a horde of the Paressí, as happened in the case of Martius, is simply that there was no accurate information about either one
[177] of the neighboring tribes. If the natives occasionally came to Cuyabá in small numbers in order to beg for a few gifts of ironware, shirts, trousers, or blankets from the government, they were felt to be annoying guests whom one tried to get rid of as quickly as possible, and about whose language or peculiarities no official needed to bother. They did not live, say, near an avenue of communication connecting two important towns, but rather, on the contrary, sat behind the very last little colonists, who themselves received very little attention, there where there were no avenues at all; they did not do these neighbors any harm and were therefore of no interest whatever to the government.
177 The good Chief Felipe in the Paranatinga village racked his brains

/388 cont./

197 in vain as to why /389/ it happened that the Bororó, who inflicted fire and pillage upon the land, received lavish gifts as soon as a few individuals were seized, whereas he himself, with his fellow tribesmen, who for generations had devoted themselves to the finest peaceableness, was obliged to return empty-handed even on his last visit to the great captain.

127 [113] Almost everything that we can learn about the West Bakaïrí from Brazilian sources is summed up in a report of the Directoria dos Indios from the year 1848; cf. the excerpt in the appendix.*

* In Petermann's Mittheilungen for the year 1862, p. 437, there is a review of an article which Dr. Amédée Moure published in the Nouvelles Annales des Voyages about 33 tribes of the province of Mato Grosso on the basis of his own experiences and adventures. The reviewer gave a comprehensive summary of Dr. Moure's data in a table arranged according to tribe, number of persons, and places of residence. Under the tribes we find some listed with 20,000, 30,000, even 50,000 persons. If one adds the minima and maxima of the estimates, one obtains the result that the number of Indians of the Mato Grosso comes to 241,800 to 282,000. If today we estimate the total number of the Mato Grosso population of all colors, all the docile and savage inhabitants on every level of culture, at about 70,000, it will undoubtedly come much closer to the truth. The original article [113] by Dr. Moure (Nouvelles Annales des Voyages de la géographie, de l'histoire et de l'archéologie, Vol. II, 1862, pp. 5-19, 323-341, III, pp. 77-100, Paris) also contains small factual atrocities such as, for example, that the Cambixis, who live in the Campos dos Parecis and have a pure Nu-Aruak dialect, speak the Peruvian Kechua

2: Steinen- 472 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca SP2
Cayabi
Mundurucu SQ13

B /391 cont./
175 enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific informa-
648 tion about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

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[113]

* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

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A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth mentioning: it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/, once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks: "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they ('aldeïert') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this passage, that the Baikïrí lived in the province of Pará; among the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Mandurukú," remembered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí. "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

B A 174 A [167] /400 cont./
there is historical proof here for the shift of the Karaiben from south to north is not affected by it. The shift of latitude is also very considerable, for today the Suyá live on the 11th degree of latitude and previously on the Rio Verde lived considerably farther south, whereas the Apiaká are already in close proximity to the Amazon River.

B A [197] A [194] The linguistic relationship of the Apiaká and Bakaïrí is close, but no closer than that of several Karaiben tribes north of the Amazonas and the Bakaïrí! It is very interesting that in many cases the Apiaká already have consonant terminal sounds and double consonants within the word. I am presenting a few words from Ehrenreich's vocabulary, which has not yet been published. The pronominal prefix of the first person is ĩ-, which in Bakaïrí sometimes belongs to the first person, sometimes to the third.

B A 192 [113] [193]
Tooth ieri, Bak. vẽri, Karaiben in general;
Tongue elo (e slightly audible), Bak. ĩlu (third person);
Hand omiat, Bak. omári (second person);
Foot ipun, Bak. iχũlu (third person);
Thigh iwet, Bak. ewéti (third person);
Lower leg iptchin, Bak. ischinári (third person);
Nose inam, Bak. inári (third person);
Ear iuanan, Bak. iwanatári (third person);
Bone itpun, Bak. ipüri;
Water paru, Bak. páru water, river;
River paru ime, Bak. páru ima large river;
Sun tschitschi, Bak. tschíschi;
Moon nuno, Bak. núna;
Heaven kabo, Bak. kχáu;
Rain kongpo, Bak. kχópö;
Fire kampot (Bak. péto), Rukuyenne and others wapoto, apoto, cf. the table in Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 278.
Tree, wood, yei, Bak. se, Makuschí yeh, yéi;
Father ongmä, Bak. iyúme;

/401/
Mother iämä, Bak. íse;

/217/

The Bacaeris

000 /218/ Study published in the Revista Brasileira, Year 1, Vols. III and IV, 1895.

101 /219/ The Bacaeris

The Bacaeris /Bacairi/ are Indians who inhabit the headwaters of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Xingú in Mato Grosso. Their name, which first appears in the logbooks of the bandeirantes /members of armed bands/ of the early eighteenth century, is later found repeatedly in travel accounts, scholarly works, and newspaper items. Since 1884/85 they have attracted the interest of the scientific world, which they fully deserve on account of the language that they speak, the ethnographic group to which they belong, the characteristic customs that they retain, and the dual aspect that they present, already subdued along the Tapajoz, still completely savage along the Xingú.

114 It was Dr. Carlos von den Steinen--assisted by our government, which put at their disposal a military school between Cuyabá /Cuiabá/ and the lower Xingú and defended the expedition between those two points--who, by studying them, opened what may be called without exaggeration a new era for our native ethnography. The results of this expedition may be summarized in a few lines (1).

• [113] 1. Durch Zentral Brasilien /Through Central Brazil; see 1:Steinen, this file/, Leipzig, 1886.

114 First of all, he delimited the rather vague concept of
101 "Cariba" /Carib/, a designation which, as the German traveler states so well, was given by the Europeans to all kinds of Indians

114 /219 cont./
101 and by the Indians to all kinds of Europeans. Since the time of D'Orbigny and Martius there has been a tendency to identify /220/ them with the Tupis. Baptista Caetano, inclined to-
[197] ward the same view, stressed as the principal basis for it the impure character of the idiom spoken by the Caribas, denying Hervas' contention that it was one of the four principal ones of South America.

114 "In my opinion," he wrote, "Kariba is not and could not
197 be a mother language. According to a study which I undertook (and which I regrettably could not carry further), it looks to me like an extraordinary mixture of several dialects of diverse origins; it is a veritable jargon, amalgamated from various dialects, which sometimes offers several phrases with different radicals and words in order to express the same thing, and sometimes a total lack of designations for other things. It is so confused that it can only be compared to what is heard in certain circles in Rio de Janeiro, where during a conversation in Portuguese one hears at the same time a phrase in English, another in Italian, a bit of Spanish or German, and all this more or less basted with Gallicisms." (Introduction to the second edition of Arte de grammatica da lingua... Kiriri /Nature of the grammar of the language... Kiriri (Cariri)/, by Luiz Vicenzio Mamiani, Rio, 1877, p. XII.)

197 This, which is accurate with regard to the Island Caribas, whom we know through Breton's works (2), does not apply,

● [113] 2. Cf. Du parler des hommes et du parler des femmes dans la langue caraïbe /On men's speech and women's speech in the Carib language/, by Lucien Adam, Paris, 1879.

114 /222 cont./
[113] 3. Die Bakairi Sprache /The Bacairi Language/, Leipzig, 1892.

account published in 1894, the richly illustrated, brilliantly written, forcefully conceived volume in which are discussed the main subjects of the primitive history of mankind, to sum up in a word, the richest modern contribution on all that touches upon our aborigines (4).

[113] 4. Unter den Naturvoelkern Zentral-Braziliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil; see 2:Steinen, this file/, Berlin, 1894.

114 At the same time that Dr. Steinen's book on the language
115 appeared, a Bacaeri was here, brought from the Paranatinga by Dr. Oscar de Miranda when he completed his difficult journey down that river to the Amazon. With this Indian, the author of these lines was able to study the German scholar's book word by word, and I cannot find words enough to express the admiration that was aroused in me by the exactitude of the phonetic transcription, the sharpness with which the grammatical forms had been discerned, and the thoroughness with which everything usable in the materials collected had been picked out. If the comparison be permitted in a country that boasts of being primarily agricultural, it might be said that his sugar mill, like one of the gigantic rollers in use today, squeezed out all the cane juice, leaving only the bagasse.

From that Indian, called Irineu, who will be designated with the initial "I," many texts were gathered--legends,
121 descriptions, traditions. The present /223/ work aims at a
114 partial presentation of this harvest. Based on the book by Dr. Steinen, whose system of phonetic transcription is adopted

/235 cont./

193 [114] That the substantives have a plural has been contested; just recently, Sr. Lucien Adam maintained "that the Bakairi is the only one of the adequately known (Carib) dialects in which distinctions of number are not expressed by any suffix" /translated from the French/ (5); nevertheless they do exist

[113] 5. Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'une grammaire comparée des dialectes de la famille caribe /Materials to serve for setting up a comparative grammar of the dialects of the Carib family/, Paris, 1893, a book of extraordinary value for the study of difficult problems.

and there are no fewer than three endings which indicate plural. The first is modo: a'aetiño, "ancient," a'aetiño-modo, "ancients." The second one is mo: pekodo, "woman," pekodómo, "women." The third one is do: idamu, "his grandfather," idamudo, "his grandfathers." Let it be noted, however, that the Bacaeris, although they have a fine verb with which to count (imperative, çapo'eža), do not count beyond three, and thus numbers are of little importance to them. Let it be noted further that the word idanára means both "all" and "entire"; in /236/ other words, in their minds the concepts of plurality and totality have not been differentiated, resulting in many words, principally ending in do, in which the concept of plural does not exist, for example, yunu, "his blood," yunudo, "his people"--that is, "his bloods."

There is little to be said concerning gender.

There are words which may be called masculine, such as u'urodo, "man," or feminine, such as arekxuma, "hen." The sole vestige of grammatical gender, however, is found in the demonstratives: mâka, miâka, mera, êra, inara are used

/245 cont./

114 193 "The personal pronouns," says the greatly missed Baptista Caetano, "are divided into two well characterized orders, namely: the first, of the agent or denominative pronouns, and the second, of the patient or accusative pronouns and of the governed cases. Both of them are preposed to the verbs, in accordance with the most general rule...And when both occur together, the patient one is the one immediately next to the verb" (7).

[113]

7. Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, VI. 8, Rio, 1879.

193 The same is to be observed in the Kxura-itano. And the patient or objective pronouns are identical to the possessives, which is another proof of how little differentiation there is as yet between verb and substantive, transitive and intransitive verb, in this idiom.

/265 cont./

756 776 After much wandering, the sky becomes cooler. We are close to the village, says Nakoeri's companion. Then they reach the village of the hornets, and the candidate hears nothing but hornet language: Did you come, my brother? Did you come, my father? Did you come, my uncle? Did you come, my son? the candidate hears, but he sees nothing, because one cannot see through the darkness of the sky.

The bench moves on again, and then, as though awakening, they reach Nakoeri's house and go into it. You wandered much, says Nakoeri.--Yes, I did, Captain, answers the candidate.

After a short while, the candidate says to Nakoeri: Captain, I am going away. Yes, replies Nakoeri, You may go now; you will return again one day.

114 115 Let us now interrupt this passage in order to comment upon it.

776 Dr. Carlos von den Steinen heard from Antonio something which probably referred to Nakoeri; he thought, however, that the story,--naturally poorly developed, since Antonio spoke in Portuguese, which he did not know well, and an Indian only narrates with pleasure and clarity in his native tongue--showed the influence of Christianity. Thus, when Antonio, unable to recall at once the name of the personage who dwelt in the sky, was searching for it in his own mind, the German traveler asked him if it might not be Jesus /266/ Christo.--"Crito mesmo /Christ himself/," said Antonio, possibly accepting the suggestion (16).

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16. Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, 346 /see 2:Steinen, this file, p. 409/.

/11/

I. Historical Data on the Bakairí /Bacairi/

The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairí up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairí themselves. There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairí, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairí who lived on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Paressi group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/, Vol. I, 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairí in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacahiri, Bacchyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River"; (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

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114 648 175 [177] 114 121

influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their primordial customs completely during the 50 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Coroado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

114 101 [115]

If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Telles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

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4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

/12 cont./

174 177 619 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any European influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien 114 175 619 642 113 (5), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the

5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was reestablished when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí, Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 101 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

128 /13 cont./ I shall first deal with the
101 western Bakairí, most of whom lived in two aldeas about two
361 leagues apart, located on the Corrego Sant'Anna, a tributary
361 of the Rio Novo, and the rest on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires). (6) The Bakairí of the Rio Paranatinga lived at that time

6. Cf. the map drawn by Vogel and published in Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit.

in a single aldea, located 17 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Piava and right in the narrow river valley. (7)

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7. Cf. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, Exploração do Rio Parataninga e seu levantamento topographico bem como o dos Rios S. Manoel e Telles Pires /Exploration of the Rio Parataninga and Its Topographic Survey as well as that of the São Manuel and Telles Pires Rivers/, Commissão de Linhas Telegraphicas, etc., Publication No. 34, Appendix No. 2. Rio de Janeiro, 1916, pp. 35 and 61.

Besides these Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, it was said that there were some of these Indians living on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, the remainder of the inhabitants of a settlement of former times, (8) and a few

8. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 387.

individuals working on one ranch or another in the western region of the headwaters of the Rio Paranatinga.

/18 cont./

175 622 of the Paranatinga Bakairí was already the same Antonio who had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his two expeditions to the Xingu River and who had become acquainted on his return from the first of these expeditions with Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. President Antonio Correa da Costa confirmed his [648] caciqueship, extending his authority over the whole region of the Indians who lived on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, naming him the comandante of all the Indians of the upper 175 Xingu River. This extension of the authority of Cacique Antonio 622 by the president of the state was instigated, according to 648 Herrmann Meyer, (22) by the same Paulo Castro who, in the 159

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22. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien (IV. Xingú-Expedition) /On His Second Journey in Central Brazil (IV. Xingu Expedition)/," aus einem Brief an Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl von den Steinen /From a letter to Prof. Karl von den Steinen/, Cuiabá, d. March 5, 1899, (Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin. Vol. XXVI, 1899, pp. 261-265), p. 265.

years following his participation in Karl von den Steinen's expedition to the Xingu River, traveled through these regions several times in his tireless search for the "martyrs," and thus had had the opportunity to meet the Bakairí of the Paranatinga. Cacique Antonio then for a long time was the most influential figure in the subsequent development not only of the western Bakairí but also of the eastern Bakairí. He had been born in the Limoeira handicrafts center and came from a family who had lived for a long time in the Rio Paranatinga aldea. The most remote ancestors of whom he had knowledge had still

175 /18 cont./
159 lived in the vicinity of the falls. His grandfather, Karavako,
622 and his father, Seseriari, had participated in the above-
648 mentioned expedition for revenge undertaken against the Kayabí, in which the two Kayabí women who lived in the Rio Paranatinga aldea were captured. At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, his parents were no longer living, but he had an older brother living with his wife and with a small son in the Paranatinga aldea. As a companion to Karl von den Steinen in the year 1888, Antonio had met in the Reducion de Bororo de Thereza Christina, situated on the Rio S. Lourenzo /São Lourenço River/, the Bororo Indian woman Rosa, well known for the fact that while a prisoner of Officer Duarte, she had undertaken to mediate in the agreement /?conivencia/ between Bororo and Brazilians so that it became possible to establish the above-mentioned Bororo reducion /pueblo of Christianized Indians/. She was a widow at the time and Antonio took her along toward the Paranatinga. Rosa brought with her a small son, five or six years of age, who was raised in the house of Cacique Antonio and who later, under the name of José /19/ Coroado, achieved a certain stature in the Bakairí community of the Paranatinga, so that I must refer to him several times in what follows.

175 Already in the last decade of the past century, when
166 Herrmann Meyer passed the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí in his two expeditions to the Xingu River in the years 1896 and 1899, much activity was taking place there. (23) Antonio with

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23. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Über seine Expedition nach Zentral-Brasilien /On His Expedition toward Central Brazil/," March 6, Verhandl. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXIV, 1897, pp. 172-198. Idem., "Bericht über seine zweite

/19 cont./

Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/," February 3, 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII, 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

Antonio with his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second expedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Matto Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communication, d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio Jatobá. Also the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ had then risked for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane and porotos /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

/28 cont./

178 in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass
535 beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with
291 urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases
302 of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and
754 shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

114 In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

• [113]

36. Hintermann, Heinrich, Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen /Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/, Zurich and Leipzig, 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcellos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Ronuro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the
[166] Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Coroado had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

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37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt, "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

/28 cont./

114 Sept. 1926 bis Aug. 1928
[113] /Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso. Sept. 1926
to Aug. 1928/." pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie.
Annual Set 60. Heft 1/3.

114 In Cuiabá I had already encountered some Bakairí
115 who had come from Simões Lopes with a herd of oxen to the capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were making the vicinity of Cuiabá insecure, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my projected trip to Simões Lopes. They were four men and one boy of ten, and when they visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellino Caminago, or by his native name, Palugude, came from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu. At the time of my stay in this aldea 26 years earlier, he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how this memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Maimaieti aldea among the Kuliseha Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Doctor Macimo," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this
[551] moment on he frequented my house with his small son, Lorenzo,
[191] whose native name was Kaiura, and with the other Bakairí.
[126] And since some /29/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic notes and to obtain at this time exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí
[622] since my former journey. Among other news they told me that
[159] old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

/32 cont./

114 enemy Indian. Just as an untiring search for the "martyrs" in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River finally broke the health of Officer Paulo Castro 25 years before, so too Colonel Fawcett perished in the same regions in his fantastic race for the "mysterious city."

177 178 Although in the year 1927 nearly all the Bakairí dressed in European-type garments and lived in Brazilian-style ranchos, and although they had also adopted many other articles of European culture, there survived among them various articles of their native culture with which I shall deal in the section that follows.

361 Already at the time of my stay among the Bakairí at Simões Lopes there was frequent talk of an imminent move of the post. [312] [241] The Indians were not satisfied with their present location because in times of drought there was no water available except at a great distance, and because there was no ground suitable to make plantations in the immediate vicinity of the post. As for the selection of a place for the new post, the opinions of the Indians differed a great deal, and it was interesting to note that the Xinguanos especially wanted the location to be closer to the capital, Cuiabá, while the Paranatinganos, on the contrary, wanted a place which would be beyond the Rio Paranatinga.

[114] /33/ We learned a few details concerning the later conditions of the Bakairí who lived in the new Simões Lopes Post from Vincent M. Petrullo, who in the year 1931 undertook a journey carried out in part with pack oxen, by water, and in part by air to the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, passing this Indian post along the way. (38) According to

[113] 38. Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive Peoples of Matto Grosso, Brazil," The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, Number 2, Philadelphia, pp. 127-130.

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[126]
[53?]
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/35 cont./ specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which were said to represent bats. To the basic, dark color of the outer surface of the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 10.5 cm. and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 9877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 26 cm., and the other (V.B. 9874) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Xingu River most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 24 (V.B. 9957) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Simões Lopes by my old friend, the Bakairí, Karía, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

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Figure 24, a. A necklace of small shell plates /chapitas/ (V.B. 9956. Length of the plates: 2.5 cm.).

/36/ Figure 23, c. A necklace of shell disks with a zoomorphic (bird) pendant of fruit rind (V.B. 9954).

Figure 23, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 23, a. Feather diadem. (V.B. 9968.) Length 36 cm. Width 8 cm.

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Among the cultural goods of the Bakairí which we must also regard as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of plaited objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publications on Bakairí plaited objects. (44) For this reason I shall

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44. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

/36 cont./

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Cf. Idem., "Ableitung südamerikanischer Geflechtsmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens /Derivation of South American Plaiting Pattern from the Technique of Plaiting/," Zeitsch. f. Ethn., 1904, Heft 3 and 4, pp. 490-512. Idem., "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas /The Technical Bases in the Ornamentation of the South American Natives/," Ipek. Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, 1926, pp. 142-174.

discuss the plaited objects that I collected from the Simões Lopes Bakairí in a special section that follows. In addition to plaited objects I was primarily concerned with the acquisition of a mortar and its corresponding pestle and a triangular barbecue, because the relevant collections of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum did not include any specimen of these Bakairí objects which are to be found in almost every settlement of these Indians. The wooden mortar which I brought from Simões Lopes (V.B. 9883, called ő́ro by the Kulisehu Bakairí) is shown in Figure 29. Its height reaches 38 cm. and the rim diameter 25 cm. From the irregular shape of the bottom it may be assumed that the lower part of the mortar was implanted in the ground. The corresponding pestle (V.B. 9884) has a length of 95 cm. and is shown in Figure 28. The barbecue shown in Figure 30 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí si(r)ka has the usual triangular shape of Bakairí barbecues. The sticks of which this barbecue consists are bound together with tree bark. Its height reaches 105 cm.

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I found the dancing sticks shown in Figures 33 a-d and 34 a-d (V.B. 9942, 9943, 9945-9948, 9951, and ~~10071~~) in

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131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Parana-
173 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

[113]

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
731 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

/260 cont./
114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

• [113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Volumes 3 and 4, Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886; Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Central Brazilian Primitive Peoples/, Berlin, 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[592] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
[784] buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept. Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

/263 cont./
about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokűinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúto feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamũra, topiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamũra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutulu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/265 cont./

775 789 539 When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

776 [775] In Nakoeri's aldea, the kadopa change into iamüra. But the iamüra also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamüra portrayed by these animals. (9)

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9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

776 756 By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamüra, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sorcerer-doctor.

776 Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

[113] 11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

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